

Photograph: Steven Parry Donald

# HEEDING THE CALL

Colin Affleck

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2022 with funding from Kahle/Austin Foundation

## HEEDING THE CALL:

# THE SCOTTISH AMERICAN WAR MEMORIAL

AND

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION

COLIN AFFLECK M.A., Ph.D.

PUBLISHED BY
THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION, 23 ATHOLL CRESCENT, EDINBURGH
WITH THE SUPPORT OF
THE INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS OF SCOTLAND

# The Scottish-American War Memorial and the English-Speaking Union by Dr Colin Affleck

The Scottish-American War Memorial was conceived and guided to completion by a group of Philadelphians, most of Scottish descent or birth and all concerned with promoting mutual understanding between Britain and the U.S.A. These interests found expression in their membership of the Transatlantic Society, its successor, the Philadelphia Branch of the English-Speaking Union, and in particular the St Andrew's Society of Philadelphia.

One of their number, John Gordon Gray, a President of the St Andrew's Society and a native of Aberdeen, first thought of the memorial. He had read in John Buchan's "History of the Great War" that the valour of the Scottish troops at the Battle of Busancy so impressed General Mangin that he had a memorial cairn erected. Gray thought of the vast contribution Scottish troops made to the First World War (Scottish losses were proportionately greater than those of any other country in the British Empire) and he later wrote:-

. . . if a French general could find reason on one small field for a Cairn of Remembrance, why should not the people of Scottish blood in America, inspired by the same feelings, remember their kinsmen in a larger way and pay a debt. For surely we of Scottish descent were in debt to those kinsmen of ours who made it possible for every man in whose veins runs Scottish blood, to cherish a higher pride of race.

Gray was also concerned that the Scots objected to an apparent American assumption that the U.S.A. alone had won the war. As a pamphlet put it in 1937, "He felt that there had been a good deal of misunderstanding in the minds of the Scottish people about the real attitude of the thoughtful American as to the credit given to those who fought in this common cause and he wanted them to know how deep our appreciation and sympathy were for the noble efforts made by our own kinsmen in Scotland". Gray put forward his idea after a luncheon given in 1923 to Colonel Walter Cameron of Lochiel. The latter had talked about the Cairn of Culloden and the deaths of his clansmen in the Great War and earlier. The first plan was to restore the cairn but then a new memorial seemed more attractive. An organisation, chaired by John Peter MacBean, a past

GENE. AL COMMITTEE

CHATRMAN TORN GRIBBRI

TREASURER SAMUEL F. HOUSTON

FRANCIS E. STEWART, M. D. DELMAR MORRIS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE JOHN PETER MACBEAN CHAIRMAN

JAMES COCHRANE A. REED MCINTIRE HILSON H. WHYTE

REV. ALEXANDER MACCOLL. D. D.

DAVID HALSTRAD ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER, PH.D., LITT.D. BENJAMIN R. HOFFMAN

FRANCIS E. STEWART, M. D.

SITE COMMITTEE HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ATHOLL SIR JOHN STIRLING MAXWELL CAMERON OF LOCALEL JOHN GRIBBEL R. TAIT MCKENZIE, M. D., LL.D. BENJAMIN R. HOFFMAN

DM. ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER SECRETARY OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES
800 LIBERTY BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA

## The Scottish Memorial

TO BE ERECTED IN EDINBURGH

February 15, 1929.

I have pleasure in enclosing a final statement of the RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURES of the SCOTTISH MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION in charge of the collection of funds for, and the erection of, the Memorial in Edinburgh.

The accounts of both the Treasurer and the Secretary have been audited by a Committee named by the President, Mr. John Gribbel, consisting of Mr. John Peter MacBean and Mr. David Halstead. Delay in sending out our final report to you has been occasioned by the proceedings necessary for a legal dissolution of the Association, which was incorporated under the laws of Delaware.

Please allow me in my own behalf and in behalf of the Committee to thank you most cordially and sincerely for your valuable co-operation in gaining the end in view.

Our accounts of the Memorial from those who reside in, and those who visit, Edinburgh are uniformly complimentary to us in America who originated and executed the design to pay this tribute to the gallantry and sacrifice of Scotsmen in the Great War. Groups of men and women still stand before it with hats off, heads bowed and with prayers in their hearts.

With kind regards and renewed thanks, I beg finally, to remain

Very truly yours,

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER, Secretary of the Executive Committee.

#### SCOTTISH MEMORIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

Pennsylvania		\$ 16,371.01
New York		9,553.70
New Jersey Delaware		1,787.30
Illinois		188.00
Iowa		6,058.00
Indiana		203.00
California		99.00
New Hampshire		1,792.99
Tennessee		256.50
Island of Guam		35.00
Colcrado		87.00
Nebraska		7.00
Texas		699.50
Louisiana		1.00
Alabama		205.00
North Dakota		25.00
South Dakota		1.00
Wyoming		10.00
North Carolina		377.50
Georgia		1,070.00
Arkansas		10.00
Arizona		31.00
Washington		41.00
District of Columbia		416.00
Kentucky		55.00
Connecticut		190.50
Maryland		395.00
Utah		30.00
South Carolina		79.00
Massachusetts		505.70
Kansas		1.00
West Virginia		100.00
Maine		37.00
Michigan		418.75
Ohio		1,029.45
Minnesota		22.00
Virginia		1,254.75
Oregon		1,576.58
Rhode Island Hawaii		498.52
Missouri		1,075.00
Florida		16.00
Wisconsin		69.00
Great Britain through the London	Committee	3,050.60
disas bil sain sui sugn vuo bondon	. Commercial	0,000.00
	Total	\$ 50,144.60

President of the St Andrew's Society, was formed to raise money, with John Gribbel as Chairman of the General Committee, which included representatives of almost every state as well as Scots like John Buchan. Gribbel was famous in Scotland for donating the Riddell manuscripts, written by Burns, to the Scottish nation. He had been President of the Transatlantic Society in Philadelphia and became a member of the board of the E-SU Branch.

The intention was to raise funds widely among Scottish-Americans, so branches were set up throughout the U.S.A., helped by St Andrew's Societies. Many contributions were received, including, it was reported, one from "an Irishman in Pennsylvania (who) joined in heartily because he said that all the Scottish clans were originally Irish". The sum of \$50,144.60 was raised.

Gray, the originator of the scheme, died in 1925 without seeing the realisation of his idea. His guiding hand was replaced by that of an old friend of his, Dr Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, who became Secretary of the Memorial Committee. He was Secretary of the Transatlantic Society from 1922 to 1926 and Secretary of the Philadelphia E-SU from 1926, later becoming a Director of the English-Speaking Union of the United States. He was a journalist, a film censor, an author and a historian, his most famous work being his five volume "History of the United States since the Civil War". Like many American intellectuals of his time he had studied in Germany in the eighteen-nineties but like many of them he came to associate himself strongly with the British-American relationship (something that was encouraged by Britain, which had begun to develop its special relationship with the U.S.A. before 1914 in competition with Germany). According to the "Dundee Courier", Oberholtzer's mother was a Scot.

Meanwhile the eminent physician and sculptor Robert Tait McKenzie, who was President of the St Andrew's Society of Philadelphia from 1924 to 1925 and a member of the E-SU, had been commissioned to create the memorial. He had already sculpted war memorials in Canada, England and the U.S.A. He always identified with Scotland as well as with his native Canada and the U.S.A., his parents having been Scottish. His mother was born in Tranent and brought up in Edinburgh, and she met his father when he was studying Theology at New College. It was said that they courted in Princes Street Gardens, giving that place prenatal as well as later significance for the future sculptor. After marrying in Edinburgh they went to Almonte, Ontario, where the father became minister.

Tait McKenzie studied medicine at McGill University and as an accomplished sportsman became particularly concerned with physical fitness. After graduating in 1892 he directed physical training within the university as well as being a

Lecturer in Anatomy and a physician. In 1902 he began sculpting athletic figures, prompted at first, it seems, more by his interest in bodily development than by artistic ambitions. His anatomical knowledge contributed to the accuracy of his sculptures. Two years later he moved to Philadelphia as Head of the Department of Physical Education at the University of Pennsylvania (with the rank of Professor) and as a Professor in the Medical Faculty. He was one of the founders of modern physical education. His various careers flourished as did his involvement in voluntary organisations including the Boy Scouts, which he helped to found in the U.S.A. When the First World War broke out he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps, becoming Inspector of Physical Therapy and Remedial Surgery in the British Army. After America entered the war he advised the Surgeon-General of the U.S.A. and he became Inspector of Convalescent Hospitals for the Canadian Army. His books on the rehabilitation of the injured were extremely influential.

In 1924 to 1926 Tait McKenzie visited Scotland several times and consulted Cameron of Lochiel, the Duke of Atholl and Sir John Stirling Maxwell about the memorial. The architect Reginald Fairlie was engaged to design the setting of the memorial (Charles Gray did the detailed architectural drawings) and a suitable site in Princes Street Gardens was obtained from Edinburgh Corporation. The idea of including the memorial in the Scottish National Memorial at Edinburgh Castle was rejected, as was an alternative site in the centre of the Gardens, suggested by the Royal Scottish Academy. After Tait McKenzie had designed the main figure of a seated Scottish soldier, called "The Call" (also known as "The Spirit of 1914"), and the frieze which runs behind it, he took a model of the memorial to Edinburgh in 1926 and it was displayed at the City Chambers. In February 1927 Tait McKenzie and Lord Provost Alexander Stevenson held the first telephone conversation between the U.S.A. and Scotland.

Numerous men were to claim to have been the model for "The Call" and periodically until well after the Second World War Edinburgh newspapers would quote the names of former students at the University of Pennsylvania in this connection. A member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland, Newton Gibson, may have been a model, according to a tradition in his family. The "Edinburgh Evening News" complicated matters in 1955 by saying that the statue looked like Billy Graham. There may have been confusion between models for the body of the soldier and for the head. A contemporary report from a Philadelphia newspaper named two Scottish-American residents of that city as the models for the figures in the frieze and stated that Hector Macdonald, a



Photograph: Steven Parry Donald



Photograph: Steven Parry Donald

former captain of the University of Pennsylvania rowing team, had posed for the main figure. As regards the head of the soldier, in an interview in 1928 Tait McKenzie said, "The face and head of the single figure I built up from a study of the type I had selected", specifically twenty Scottish soldiers he chose from a parade at Redford Barracks. He continued:

The face I tried to portray was the face of any young Scots lad who went out to the war. Even yet I am receiving letters from parents and relatives asking if their boy had been my model, so closely does the face resemble his.

One parent who was to see a resemblance was Ishbel, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, whose husband, when Governor-General of Canada, had appointed Tait McKenzie as his physician. She later wrote that the sculptor while working on "The Call" always had close by a photograph of her son Archie, who was killed in a motor accident in 1909 aged 25. Although she knew the statue was not supposed to be based on one model, the likeness was "unmistakable". In 1930 the editor of "The Scots Magazine" wrote that in the figure "every Scot has seen something of the one lad that mattered very definitely to him or to her".

Four days before the unveiling, "Country Life" published an enthusiastic article on the memorial by E H M Cox, a Scot who was to become well known as a gardening writer. He stated that the memorial had been cast in bronze on 27 June 1927 at the Roman Bronze Works, Brooklyn. The main figure, a symbol of Scotland, was positioned gazing at Edinburgh Castle, "eager to answer the call". The statue bears no features that would identify it with any particular regiment, but on the sporran is the Lion of Scotland. Behind it the frieze shows a pipe band leading a recruiting party followed by a group of new recruits. (The relief, if viewed from left to right, can also be seen as showing individual Scotsmen transmuted, via marching workers and marching soldiers, into an exultant crusade.) Cox justifiably described the frieze as a "masterpiece of rhythmic movement" and the main figure as a "beautiful representation of all that is best and bravest in the Scottish blood".

The rest of the memorial was constructed from Craigleith stone, the marble offered by Georgia not being suited to the climate. Although the quarries were worked out, an outcrop was found at Ravelston just big enough to suffice. Thistles were carved on the stone pylons at either end of the memorial by Alexander Carrick and above the frieze were carved two intertwined wreaths with shields showing the Stars and Stripes and the St Andrew's Cross.

The pedestal is inscribed:-

THE CALL

1914

#### A Tribute

### From Men and Women of Scottish Blood and Sympathies

In the United States of

AMERICA

TO

#### **SCOTLAND**

A People that Jeoparded their Lives unto the Death In the High Places of the Field JUDGES. V. 18

The biblical quotation from the eighteenth verse of "The Song of Deborah" was suggested to Tait McKenzie by T W Gibson, Deputy Minister of Mines of Ontario. Below the frieze, in sixteenth century Scottish lettering, are the last two lines of "A Creed" by E Alan Mackintosh, M.C., lieutenant in the 5th Seaforths. The whole last verse reads:

Now is the time of trial, the end of the years of fighting, And the echoing gates roll back on the country I cannot see. If it be life that waits I shall live forever unconquered, If death I shall die at last strong in my pride and free.

The poem was written at Vimy Ridge in 1916 shortly before the writer was killed in action.

The unveiling of the memorial took place on 7 September 1927. Hundreds of Americans, including a large group that crossed the Atlantic for the specific purpose, attended the ceremony and Tait McKenzie and Oberholtzer were

Announcement of Special Sailing

## Unveiling of Scottish Memorial

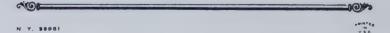
EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND

1000

"Scottish Memorial Voyage," in connection with the unveiling of the "Scottish Memorial" at Edinburgh, during the early part of September. 1927, take pleasure in announcing that they have made final arrangements with the Cunard-Anchor Lines and will use the T. S. S. "Transylvania" sailing from New York to Glasgow on July 23rd, 1927.

The return voyage may be secured in any of the following steamers.

CAMERONIA leaving Glasgow Sept. 10th, 1927 CALIFORNIA leaving Glasgow Sept. 17th, 1927 CALEDONIA leaving Glasgow Sept. 24th, 1927



Should the foregoing sailing dates be unsuitable, arrangements can be made for return at earlier or later dates and, if desired, from any port of call covered by the Cunard-Anchor steamers.

The T. S. S. "Transylvania" is a new twin screw steamer with all modern conveniences which are suitably described in a special booklet obtainable from any member of the Committee upon application. Rates and full details will also be gladly furnished.

For convenience a list of committee members are given below.

WILLIAM MCLEAN

DAVID LEES

1209 Harrison Building, Philadelphia. Pa. 30 State Street. Boston. Mass.

JOHN MAC LAUGHLAN

LESLIE ATKINS

11201 Cottage Road Ave., Chicago, III. 25 Broadway, New York, N. Y.



present. The proceedings began with a prayer by the Rev Alexander MacColl, Chaplain of the St Andrew's Society of Philadelphia. The American Ambassador, Alanson Bigelow Houghton, unveiled the statue and gave an address. He said:

Today we commemorate the Great War with the figure of a common soldier — one youth separated from the thronging files of recruits pressing on from behind — one youth within sound of the pipes and drums and within sight of the old Castle on the hill — one son of Scotland from a mansion or a manse or a mine, from a farm or a factory, from a Glasgow close or an Edinburgh lane — it mattered not. For he came from all these. He kept lonely company with his own soul in a tank or in a trench, on the sea or in the sky. And he went to his death alone.

Due to the indisposition of the Lord Provost, the memorial was accepted by Bailie Deas. It was dedicated by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Very Rev Norman Maclean. On the same day the American Ambassador was presented with the Freedom of Edinburgh in the Usher Hall, and in the evening an eye witness account of the unveiling was broadcast from the Edinburgh studio of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Two days later the statue was raised so that Tait McKenzie could place inside the pedestal the roll of subscribers to the memorial fund. A report stated "the names, representing many scattered areas of the American continent, were inscribed on parchment, contained in a glass jar, along with a copy of "The Scotsman" containing the report of the unveiling ceremony and the address of the American Ambassador, Dr Houghton, and a number of coins". The receptacle was tied with a ribbon of Mackenzie tartan.

From the first, reverential groups gathered at the memorial, and it attracted a great deal of attention in the American, Canadian and Scottish press. Most comment was uncritically enthusiastic, but an article by J M Gray in "The Scots Magazine" for November 1929 contrasted the memorial, "that lonely kilted figure, with the finely chiselled face, full of intelligence, strength and resolution, and the indomitable spirit of the Highland poet on lips and eyes", with a photograph of a rotting corpse on a battlefield and the realistic picture of the war in "All Quiet on the Western Front". He admitted that the statue immortalised a "great moment in Scottish history", but the "pitiful tragedy" had to be remembered too:

The war is already becoming a beautiful and magnificent thing to children. We have celebrated the "heroism" of their fathers only too well. We have not had the courage to tell them that they were not heroes, just ordinary lads from the back streets and the villages who, with other lads from other streets and villages in other countries, were thrown into as sordid an adventure as human beings ever experienced.

The "Spirit of 1914" was to be remembered with gratitude, but the horror and waste and lies also had to be kept in mind: "It shall go hard with our children if we forget".

A more sentimental view was taken by a Dundee journalist, Norval Scrymgeour, who wrote frequently (and sometimes in verse) about the memorial, mainly in "The Sunday Post". His first article, immediately after the unveiling, predicted the recognition that the statue would stir in many minds: "A bonnie lad! Scottish to the core. A kent face. Multitudes of Scottish folk will look at him, and everyone will feel that he or she knows this soldier boy". On Christmas Day 1927 "The Sunday Post" published his article "Our Soldier in the Snow" (which was later reproduced as a pamphlet and, according to Tait McKenzie, affected many Americans). He described a winter visit to the statue to tell the soldier that he was remembered by "multitudes of Scottish people". Nothing touched "the war-scarred heart of Scotland" as deeply as the memorial. Scrymgeour insisted that there was "no such thing as death" and that in the presence of the statue he was "in the company of the living". On 6 January 1928 the sculptor wrote thanking him for his article and stating that "you have caught exactly the thought over which I had brooded for so long".

It is significant of the deep effect on Scotland of the war losses in 1924 to 1918 that "The Sunday Post" published at this period an annual Armistice Day Supplement. In that of 1929 Scrymgeour wrote that each relative of the war dead "knows and feels that the so-called dead are wonderfully and gloriously alive". The memorial and the Scottish National Memorial gave "an enormous uplift to the feelings of those who were left stricken by the War", being "a solid expression of Scotland's belief in the livingness of her so-called dead heroes and heroines".

Despite his couthy sentimentality, Scrymgeour reveals the feelings of many Scots and shows why the memorial had such an impact and why those whose friends and relatives had entered the anonymity of death should be inclined to recognise them in the statue that commemorated them.



Photograph: Steven Parry Donald



Photograph: Steven Parry Donald

It is possible that Scrymgeour wrote an article which appeared in the "Dundee Courier" in 1928, reporting a proposal that a ceremony be held at the memorial, to express "Scoto-American sympathies". In any case, an article by him appeared in "The Sunday Post" of 21 June 1931, called "Scotland's Soldier Left All Alone". He wrote that, despite the constant stream of pilgrims to the memorial and its fame abroad, "no service has broken the stillness in which the soldier sits. No honour has been done to him". An annual memorial service was the "dearest wish" of Tait McKenzie and "Scottish folk would appreciate a homely ceremony". Lord Provost Whitson was sympathetic and Scrymgeour's readers in the U.S.A. and Canada liked the idea. He concluded, "I hope to be able to arrange something". Three weeks later (and presumably coincidentally) the memorial was visited by Queen Mary and the Duchess of York (the present Queen Mother).

Meanwhile, on 15 May 1930, the Edinburgh Branch of the English-Speaking Union had been publicly inaugurated with a dinner for visiting American newspaper editors, although a report in the "Evening Dispatch" implied that some sort of E-SU activity had been going on in the city for a few years. The main function of the Branch in the nineteen-thirties was to provide somewhere for visiting Americans to go and to arrange hospitality for such visitors.

The concentration on America was such that a committee member suggested in 1936 that the name "English-Speaking Union" was "misleading" and that "British-American Federation" would be more suitable.

In 1932 Norval Scrymgeour continued to suggest, this time in "The Scots Magazine", the rhapsodic feelings that some people had about Tait McKenzie's statue:

In barrack-rooms and barrack-yards, and on the parade-ground, he studied Scottish lads in uniform with a view to enshrining in bronze the symbol of the story of Scottish pride which in 1914-1918 upheld the ancient racial tradition. And he succeeded in presenting a figure in which proud and sorrowing fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers, wives and sweethearts, would recognise their own dear dead.

He was able to announce that arrangements were being made in Scotland and the U.S.A. for an annual Service of Remembrance at the memorial, the first to take place on 7 September 1932, the fifth anniversary of the unveiling. Oberholtzer had formed an organising committee which became known as the Scottish-American Memorial Association and which was chaired by Gribbel.

Cameron of Lochiel and Earl Haig gave their approval to this new endeavour. On 2 September 1932 a letter from Oberholtzer appeared in "The Scotsman" (addressed from the E-SU's London Headquarters, Dartmouth House) confirming that the new association, formed by the Americans who had erected the memorial, and of which he was Secretary, would be holding annual services. Oberholtzer would have been enthusiastic about such a ceremony, since he liked to organise pageants in America celebrating historical events.

The first annual service was presided over by a distinguished Lord Provost, Sir Thomas B Whitson, who recalled the message from the King at the unveiling: "His Majesty welcomes this act of commemoration as a further bond of union between the two great English-speaking nations". In his address the Rev Dr Hugh Black (a Rothesay-born Professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York) developed this theme, talking about the links between Scotland and America but pointing out that both were members of "another and larger confraternity — that of the whole English speaking people of the world". It would appear that the Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU had assisted in the arrangements for this service, since a wreath was laid on its behalf. Sir Harry Lauder, in his usual Highland attire, also laid wreaths. He had visited Tait McKenzie in Philadelphia to see the statue when the sculptor was working on it. The American Consul did not attend because of an American-British agreement preventing official involvement in services at foreign war memorials.

"The Scotsman" reported that the service in 1933 was organised by the Association in Philadelphia in collaboration with the Edinburgh E-SU. The address was given by Tait McKenzie, who discussed again the frequent identification of his statue with viewers' own boys. He suggested this was because it had "something common to the universal eager spirit of youth". He talked about a story by the Scottish writer Edward Albert, "The Four Strangers", in which an American lady, a German doctor, a young Scotswoman and an English former soldier all think that the statue looks like a dead son or lover or comrade. Tait McKenzie had written to Albert that he was glad his "beautiful story" had caught the idea that the face of the statue represented "the type rather than the individual".

Oberholtzer wrote to "The Scotsman" in August 1934 to announce that the September service would be addressed by Dr David Kinley, a native of Dundee, an economist and recently retired President of the University of Illinois. Among others attending would be Mrs Morgan Fisher Vining, the daughter of J G Gray. The arrangements were in the hands of Edward M Campbell, WS, Chairman of the Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU.

At the service Bailie Kinloch Anderson made the obligatory reference to the "two great English-speaking nations of the world". Dr Kinley's address reflected the revulsion against war that was widespread in the U.S.A. in the nineteen-thirties. He attacked war profiteers and said that war must be avoided in future by one of three methods: world public opinion (which, as embodied in the League of Nations, had failed); economic or physical force to isolate aggressors (which would be likely to harm everyone); and education for "the general world-interest". He placed his hope in the third option, while admitting that it was a very long term process.

The first entry in the earliest surviving minutes book of the Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU, for 8 October 1934, records that this service had taken place.

Oberholtzer was one of the speakers at the 1935 service, which was briefly reported in "The Landmark", the monthly magazine of the English-Speaking Union of the British Empire. In October 1936 it contained an article by Oberholtzer about some connections between Philadelphia and Britain including the service, which was "held annually under the auspices of an American Committee with headquarters in Philadelphia, usefully assisted by the Edinburgh Branch of the English-Speaking Union". He wrote that on arriving in Edinburgh for the 1936 service he had heard of the death of John Gribbel, President of the Memorial Association, so "the service this year was at once given a special meaning". Norval Scrymgeour wrote to Tait McKenzie that he had laid flowers on behalf of "mothers in far places" and that Oberholtzer "had not been quite well"; he was actually dead by the end of the year.

The E-SU minutes book contains an extensive list of people to be invited to the 1937 service — the Lord Provost (who usually presided), the Bailies and Councillors, City officials, the American Consul, officers of the Armed Forces, judges, members of the British Legion and of the E-SU, Deputy Lieutenants, the University Principal and various Chief Reporters — which suggests that the Edinburgh establishment turned out in force. "The Landmark" printed extracts from the address given by Charles Alexander Richmond, President Emeritus of Union College, New York State. He said that the next war was already being talked about but it had to be prevented. He rejected pacifism since "policemen" were needed in the world and described the rearmament of Britain and America as "the most effective peace movement of our time" because the two countries loved peace. If a "world conflict" broke out, America would support Britain, because they were the two main "protagonists and defenders of the ideals and principles of democracy". He denounced "race idolatry" — clearly referring to

Nazi Germany — as "the very provocation of war". Tait McKenzie distributed a pamphlet that year, telling the story of the monument and the service "at which some distinguished American pledges once more that mutual understanding which is so vital to the peace of the world".

The minutes for 2 November 1937 recorded that Dr Richmond and Tait McKenzie had written "to express complete satisfaction with the general arrangements for the ceremony, and the welcome to the guests at tea afterwards". The sculptor, who had become President of the Memorial Association after Gribbel's death, was not to attend another service, since he died in Philadelphia on 28 April 1938. He had asked that his heart be buried in front of the memorial so his successor as President, I Norman Henry, a Philadelphia physician and Director of the ominously-named Big Brother Association, wrote to the Lord Provost's Committee asking for permission. The Committee suggested instead that the heart be interred in St Cuthbert's burial ground, and this was done before the service on 7 September 1938. The speakers, including the Duke of Atholl and Dr Henry (who died 27 days later), stressed that the memorial represented the co-operation of Britain and America, the two countries which, if necessary, would fight for democracy against the "forces of evil and brutality" threatening the world. The political symbolism of the memorial had been recognised much earlier; in 1926 the "Glasgow Weekly Herald" had praised the fact that committees all over the U.S.A. were raising money for the memorial, contrasting this with the way in which "Senator Borah [the Idaho isolationist and his confederates are injuring Anglo-American friendship by their fantastic claim for marine reparations," and on the day of the unveiling Ambassador Houghton had said that the future of the world depended on "a sound friendly understanding between the British and the American peoples".

On 7 September 1939, which would have been the occasion of the eighth annual service, "The Scotsman" contained discussions of the American declaration of neutrality following the outbreak of the Second World War a few days earlier, and in Glasgow John Kennedy, the twenty-one year old son of the American Ambassador (and the future President of the United States), was addressing a meeting of American survivors from the "Athenia", sunk by the Germans. On the following day "The Scotsman" printed a message from the Committee of the Scottish-American Memorial Association in Philadelphia to the Scottish-American Association and other friends in Scotland. It stated that one of its members, B R Hoffman, who was also Secretary of the Philadelphia Branch of the E-SU, had arranged for Sir Frederick Whyte (a former Director-General of the English-Speaking Union of the British Empire) to

address the 1939 service. However, the Lord Provost had strongly recommended cancelling the event and Edward Campbell of the Edinburgh E-SU had endorsed this view, saying that he and his office would not be able to make arrangements for the service. Therefore, the Association was cancelling the service, although wreaths would be laid at the memorial on 7 September.

The Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU was itself another casualty of war. Following the minutes of 31 January 1939 is a note which states, "According to instructions from Headquarters in London, the Edinburgh Branch was closed down in 1940". It seems that this followed consultations with the Edinburgh Committee.

The entry of the U.S.A. to the war in December 1941 meant that it was once more an ally, and on 30 May 1942, on the day of the year celebrated as Memorial Day in America since the Civil War, the service resumed (although reports do not indicate who organised it). Sandbags which had protected the memorial for more than two years were removed, a fact seen by "The Scotsman" as "symbolical of the entry of the United States into the war". The eminent Lord Provost William Y Darling presided, representatives of the American armed forces and other Allies attended, and American flags flew from many buildings in central Edinburgh. The next year saw a revival of interest in the model for "The Call", after a visiting American major claimed to have posed not only for the main figure but also for the bodies of all the figures in the frieze. Jean McGill accepts his version in her biography of Tait McKenzie.

American entry to the war also led eventually to the revival of the Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU, since there were once again large numbers of American visitors to the city, this time in uniform. The Committee, which was re-established in late 1942, was reluctant to reconstitute the Branch, despite the urgings of Dartmouth House, for reasons of economy and because American servicemen in Edinburgh were already catered for, although a member of the Committee, Sir James Fraser Cunninghame, said it should take part in the annual service. The minutes of 1 February 1944 record that the Branch was to resume following contacts with the Scottish-American Centre, the premises of which at 29 Regent Terrace it would share.

The minutes book records in detail the arrangements for the service on 30 May 1944. The Scottish-American Centre was invited to join in, although the E-SU would meet all costs. Invitations were sent to the Moderator, the Primus, the Roman Catholic Archbishop and the Chief Rabbi, as well as military and secular authorities. Mr Philip Malcolm was engaged as "Precentor", to lead the singing at the service. The loud speakers were ordered from Jenners. According

to the minutes, the service was "gratifying, dignified and reverent". The total cost was £21.18s.0d.

During this period the Edinburgh E-SU was mainly concerned with providing accommodation and hospitality for the American forces. It was difficult to find hostesses, especially those prepared to take enlisted men, so it was suggested that a letter be sent to "The Scotsman". A committee member warned "that often the wrong type replied to these letters and that various organisations had experienced trouble this way".

The annual Memorial Service on 30 May had become a more lasting responsibility of the Branch. In February 1945 it was noted that all the procedures had been written down in a book. Other events have taken place at the memorial — the British Legion held services there on Remembrance Sunday in the nineteen thirties (displaying the American flag), in November 1945 it was smeared with paint (a reminder that vandalism is not new) and in October 1946 General Eisenhower laid a wreath — but the Edinburgh Branch of the E-SU still ensures that once a year the original intentions of that group of Philadelphians are remembered and realised.

#### SOURCES

Minute Book of the Edinburgh Branch of the English-Speaking Union (8/10/34 to 19/9/45)

Log Book of US Consulate-General in Edinburgh (extracts)

Edinburgh E-SU scrapbook (mainly 1930) and other cuttings

Newspaper cuttings etc in the Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Library

The Scotsman

The Landmark

Country Life, LXII, No 1598 (3/9/27)

The Tait McKenzie Heritage Lives On

Brookgreen Gardens: Sculpture by R Tait McKenzie (1937)

Who Was Who

Who Was Who In America

Dictionary of American Biography

Review of Christopher Hussey, Tait McKenzie, a Sculptor of Youth in The Scots Magazine (February 1930)

"The Scottish-American War Memorial and the St Andrew's Society" (1937)

Edward Albert, The Four Strangers (London, 1932)

J M Gray, "Remembering, 1918 — November — 1929" in The Scots Magazine (November 1929)

Major James Farquharson Leys, "The Life of a Remarkable Man", reprinted from The Canadian Army Journal (January 1955)

Jean McGill, The Joy of Effort; A Biography of R Tait McKenzie (Bewdley, Ontario, 1980)

R Tait McKenzie, "The Scottish Memorial" in The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle (January 1929)

Norval Scrymgeour, "The Story of 'The Call': A New Yearly Pilgrimage" in The Scots Magazine (1932)

Norval Scrymgeour, "Scotland's Soldier: The Figure at Every Fireside" in The Sunday Post 11/9/27

Norval Scrymgeour, "Our Soldier in the Snow" in The Sunday Post 25/12/27

Norval Scrymgeour, "Scotland in the Silence" in The Sunday Post Armistice Day Supplement 10/11/29

Norval Scrymgeour, "Scotland's Soldier Left All Alone" in The Sunday Post 21/6/31



